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A PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION SEAL ON THE TABLET MDP 11 308 (LOUVRE Sb 13078)*

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David Lewis in memoriam

I. INTRODUCTION

A seal commonly used to secure transactions in the Persepolis Fortification archive, PFS 7*, has now been identified in an impression preserved on an administrative tablet of Achaemenid date housed in the Louvre (Louvre Sb 13078).¹ The text of MDP 11 308 has been known for many years; the text and the seal impression, however, have

* This discovery was first made while preparing my Ph.D. dissertation on the sealings preserved on the Persepolis Fortification tablets; see my "Seal Workshops and Artists at Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter Preserved on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988). I would like to thank Margaret Cool Root, whose generosity has made it possible for me to work on the Persepolis seal impressions. She has given inspiration now both as a mentor and a collaborator. Permission to publish the seal impressions on the Fortification tablets comes from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Over the years, the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project has received support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Trinity University, and three units of the University of Michigan: the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, the Office of the Vice President for Research, and the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. I would also like to thank the Classics Department at Vassar College, where I completed preliminary drafts of this manuscript as the Carl Blegen Fellow. Charles Jones of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has kindly provided the transliteration and translation of the text of MDP 11 308 and the seal inscription of PFS 7*. For this and his constant support in matters pertaining to Persepolis he has my deepest gratitude. Pierre Amiet and Béatrice André-Salvini of the Louvre kindly provided photographs of the Louvre tablet dis-

cussed here, gave permission for its republication, and provided additional archival information. Finally, I wish to thank Pierre Briant for his insightful comments on the manuscript and valuable bibliographical references. The photograph and drawing of PFS 7* were produced by me. For personal and geographical names in the Fortification archive, I have followed R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92 (Chicago, 1969), pp. 663–776. The responsibility for errors in this text, however, rests with me.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout: PF = Persepolis Fortification tablet text published by Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*; PFS = seal design preserved as impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (* following a seal number indicates that the seal design carries an inscription; the seal designs are reconstructed from multiple impressions of the original seals (which do not survive) on the Fortification tablets. For the numbering of the Persepolis seals, see *idem, Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 78–81; M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Persepolis Fortification Tablets 1–2087*, in press. The first fascicule of the publication of the seals preserved on PF 1–2087 is now in preparation; see Garrison and Root, *The Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets: A Catalogue*, fasc. 1 *Images of Heroic Encounter*); PTS = Persepolis Treasury tablet seal type (as published in E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, *Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, OIP 69 [Chicago, 1957], pp. 4–41); MDP = Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse; MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran.

¹ MDP 11 308 text, first published in V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, Quatrième Série, MDP 11

never been the subject of detailed examination.² The purpose of this article is to bring notice to the collation of the seal impression on MDP 11 308 with PFS 7* from the Fortification archive. This discovery raises several issues which are explored in this article. The first issue is the question of the provenance of MDP 11 308. The second issue is the relationship of the text and the seal impression on MDP 11 308 with texts and seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification archive. The third issue is the larger historical framework for administrative documents such as MDP 11 308 and the Persepolis Fortification tablets.

II. THE PROVENANCE OF MDP 11 308

In 1911 the great epigrapher V. Scheil published an important selection of Neo-Elamite tablets.³ He stated that tablets MDP 11 301–7 had been found “dessous les ruines de l’Apadana.”⁴ Of the provenance of the other tablets published with those from under the Palace of Darius in the section entitled “Petits Textes” (i.e., MDP 11 299, 300, 308, and 309), Scheil said nothing. He did mention, however, that MDP 11 309 “appartient seul à la série du Tome IX des Textes élam.-anzanites,” linking it with those tablets found in 1901 by de Morgan near the temple of Shutruk-Nahunte II on the “tell de l’Acropole” and published by Scheil in MDP 9.⁵

There exists no documentation in the archives of the French mission concerning the excavation or the exact provenances of tablets MDP 11 299, 300, 308. All three tablets were given Susa acquisition numbers in the Louvre. A Susa museum number in the Louvre does not guarantee, however, that the objects were actually excavated at Susa, since the French mission also sent material retrieved from places other than Susa to the Louvre.

The fact that MDP 11 299, 300, 308 were published by Scheil in association with the tablets from under the Palace of Darius has generally been interpreted (often tacitly) to mean that the tablets come from Susa but that their exact provenances from the site are not known.⁶ While there has been much discussion about the dates of the Neo-Elamite tablets of known provenance, little has been said concerning the dates or the provenances of MDP 11 299, 300, and 308.⁷

Beyond the lack of secure documentation on the excavation of MDP 11 308, two factors complicate any assumption that it was found at Susa. First, the text (contents of the text and the date formula) and the seal impression indicate that the tablet dates to the Achaemenid period. Documented excavations at Susa have yielded no inscribed administrative

(Paris, 1911), pp. 89, 101, no. 308, with a description of the seal impression. The seal impression was first published in photograph in L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental*, vol. 1, *Fouilles et missions* (Paris, 1920), pl. 48 (no. S.569).

² The tablet was recently included in the Susa exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; P. O. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre* (New York, 1992), p. 273, no. 191 (entry written by Matthew W. Stolper).

³ Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, MDP 11, nos. 299–309.

⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

⁵ Ibid., for the quote; see idem, *Textes élamites-anzanites (Textes de comptabilité)*, Troisième série, MDP 9 (Paris, 1907), for the Neo-Elamite tablets found near the small temple built by Shutruk-Nahunte II on the “tell de l’Acropole.”

⁶ See, for example, P. Amiet, “La glyptique de la fin de l’Elam,” *Arts asiatiques* 28 (1973): 3–32, esp. pp. 4–6.

⁷ For the Neo-Elamite tablets of known provenance, see the summary in my article “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art,” *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 1–29 (n. 31 for the summary); M. W. Stolper, “Cuneiform Texts from Susa,” in Harper, Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 259–60, 267–69 (nos. 187–88).

tablets of Achaemenid date; thus MDP 11 308 would be unique.⁸ Second, MDP 11 308 is closely related in several ways to texts found in the Persepolis Fortification archive: the ductus, syllabary, and shape of the tablet are identical; the transaction recorded in MDP 11 308 is also documented in the Fortification archive (J text); and, finally, the seal used on MDP 11 308 was also used at Persepolis (PFS 7*). Thus, there exists the possibility that MDP 11 308 is in fact from Persepolis, having been brought to Susa in modern times in order to sell it to the French mission. There also exists the possibility that MDP 11 308 was brought to Susa from another (unknown) site in southwestern Iran which has preserved texts similar to those from Persepolis.⁹

The question of the provenance of MDP 11 308 cannot be answered definitively, owing to the lack of documentation from the excavation. Despite the absence of Achaemenid administrative tablets from Susa and the clear association of MDP 11 308 with the Fortification archive from Persepolis, five factors (when taken together) suggest that the tablet may in fact have come from Susa.

(1) Scheil's commentary on MDP 11 299–309 is brief and vague. In general, the early publications of the French mission do not provide exact and detailed information on archaeological context. That there is no information on the find-spot of this small, unassuming tablet does not come as a particular surprise, since often little is known of the provenances of even large and important monuments found at Susa.¹⁰

(2) MDP 11 308 is published in a work devoted to objects from Susa. It is, moreover, published in direct numerical sequence with tablets clearly identified as coming from Susa (i.e., MDP 11 301–7 and MDP 11 309). This might suggest that MDP 11 308 was also found at Susa.¹¹

(3) There was probably little, if any, illicit digging and uncovering of tablets at Persepolis before the Oriental Institute excavations in the 1930s, since, at that time, there were no known texts of this type and hence no incentive to market them. Since there was no market for this type of artifact, it seems unlikely that MDP 11 308 was taken from Persepolis (thirty years before excavations had even begun there), or any other site in southwestern Iran and subsequently brought to Susa, sold to the French mission, and sent to Paris with the Susa material. Moreover, at Persepolis tablets discovered in controlled excavations have always been found in large groups. If MDP 11 308 had been illicitly taken from Persepolis, other tablets would likely have been found with it and sold to the French mission.

⁸ There are a few known legal texts (written in Akkadian) of Achaemenid date from Susa: M. Rutten, "Tablette no. 4," in R. Ghirshman, *Village perse-achéménide*, MDP 36 (Paris, 1954), pp. 83–85; F. Joannès, "Contrats de mariage d'époque récente," *Revue d'assyriologie* (RA) 78 (1984): 71–81; idem, "Textes babyloniens de Suse d'époque achéménide," in F. Vallat, ed., *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990), pp. 173–80.

⁹ The texts from the Fortification archive indicate that there are numerous administrative, political, and religious centers lying between Persepolis and Susa; see, for example, H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 19

(Wiesbaden, 1990).

¹⁰ As a reading of the catalogue entries in Harper, Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, quickly reveals.

¹¹ B. André-Salvini, Conservateur at the Département des Antiquités Orientales at the Louvre, has informed me (personal communication, 31 July 1992) that, in her opinion, if Scheil had any doubts concerning the provenance of MDP 11 308, he would have published the tablet in *RA*, rather than in MDP. She adds that Scheil would have been present at the excavation most of the time from 1903 on, that he followed the discoveries very closely, and that he would have been aware of the purchase or import of an object by the mission from outside.

(4) The text of MDP 11 308 also yields possible evidence for its origin at Susa. As will be discussed in more detail below (pp. 20–25), the text records deliveries at and around Susa. The Persepolis Fortification texts, to which MDP 11 308 is clearly related, only rarely document actual deliveries at Susa, since the city lay beyond the administrative boundaries of the Fortification archive.¹²

(5) It seems very likely that administrative archives connected with the imperial state would have existed at Susa. The importance of Susa to the Achaemenid Persians, and especially to Darius the Great, cannot be overestimated. In our Greek and biblical sources, Susa figures as the main capital of the empire, and the city experienced a golden age of prosperity under Achaemenid rule.¹³ It was located at the heart of the empire, better positioned strategically than any other of the capitals. It also lay at one end of one of the most famous roads in antiquity, the royal road from Susa to Sardis (e.g., Herodotus 5.52–53). The three versions of the foundation charter of Darius's palace at Susa (DSf, written in Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite, respectively) describe the mobilization of resources from all over the empire for the construction of the palace, suggesting an elaborate administrative infrastructure.¹⁴ Finally, Susa has revealed an anepigraphic tablet which carries an impression of an Achaemenid seal; this tablet was most likely an administrative document of some type.¹⁵

¹² As can be reconstructed from textual evidence (for example, geographical names, movements of officials, etc.) preserved in the texts from the Fortification archive; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, *passim*, recognizes six administrative regions represented in the Fortification archive: Persepolis (I), Shiraz (II), Southeastern Region (III), Southwestern Region (IV), Northwestern Region (V), and Elam (VI). Texts mentioning commodities delivered at Susa: PF 88, 90–92, 136, 318, and 737 (see n. 75 below for more discussion on the context of this text).

¹³ Darius clearly recognized the political and symbolic significance of Susa. He fortified the site, started a grandiose building program, and made it his lowland capital. He built on the so-called tell de l'Apadana a palace, an Apadana, and a monumental gateway. A royal treasure was also kept on the site (Herodotus 5.49; Diodorus 17.66.1). The date of Darius's building activity at Susa cannot be determined with precision. Some have argued for a date very early in Darius's reign, 521–520 B.C. and so a few years before Darius began to build at Persepolis (the construction date of which is also uncertain); for a brief summary with bibliography, see O. W. Muscarella in Harper, Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 216–19. P. de Miroshchedji, "Susa," in D. N. Freedman et al., eds., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6 (New York, 1992), pp. 242–45, nicely summarizes the layout of the Persian city and the major buildings.

¹⁴ Standard English edition of DSf Old Persian text: R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, AOS 33 (New Haven, 1953), pp. 142–44 (DSf); with additions in M.-J. Steve, "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse (suite)," *Studia Iranica* 3 (1974): 135–61 (pp. 145–47, for the Old Persian) and *idem*, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques: Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane*, MDAI 53 (Nice, 1987), pp. 64–71 (no. 29). Standard editions of the Akkadian version: *idem*, "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse," pp. 155–61; *idem*, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques*, pp. 72–77 (no. 29). Standard editions of the Elamite version: F. Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius Ier (DSf et DSz)," *Studia Iranica* 1 (1972): 8–11. Closely similar to DSf are DSz (Elamite version) and DSaa (Akkadian version); see *idem*, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius Ier (DSf et DSz)"; Steve, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques*, pp. 79–82 (no. 32), gives an edition of the DSz Old Persian version and a fragmentary exemplar of the DSz Elamite version; Vallat, "Table accadienne de Darius Ier (DSaa)" in L. de Meyer, H. Gasche, and F. Vallat, eds., *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve* (Paris, 1986), pp. 277–83, for an edition of DSaa and comments on its relationship to DSf; Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*, Acta Iranica 19 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 7–10, for caveats concerning the propagandistic overtones of the foundation charter.

¹⁵ Amiet, *Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses achéménides: Cachets, sceaux-cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913 à 1967*, MDAI 43 (Paris, 1972), no. 2203. The tablet carries the impression of only one seal and is roughly similar to thousands of anepigraphic sealed tablets found in the Persepolis Fortification archive (almost half of the Fortification archive consists of anepigraphic documents which carry only seal impressions; only one of these documents has ever been published: C. G. Starr, "A Sixth Century Athenian Tetradrachm Used to Seal a Clay Tablet from Persepolis," *Numismatic Chronicle* 136 [1976]: 219–22).

These considerations suggest that Achaemenid administrative archives would have existed at Susa.¹⁶ These archives are likely to have been kept in Elamite, the language overwhelmingly preferred in the later second millennium B.C. and the first half of the first millennium B.C. for the recording of administrative matters, royal inscriptions, etc., in Susiana.¹⁷

Given the likelihood of Achaemenid administrative archives at Susa, at first glance it may seem surprising that only one anepigraphic sealed tablet has been found.¹⁸ In fact, the recovery of administrative tablets from any site is remarkable, since most administrative tablets have a limited period of usefulness. Being made of clay, administrative tablets have no intrinsic value after the information conveyed in the text is outdated or no longer needed; thus they are easily recycled or destroyed. On multiperiod sites the chances of administrative records of earlier periods being preserved are further reduced, since later building activity tends to remove earlier buildings and occupational levels. The site of Susa saw extensive construction in post-Achaemenid times, resulting in the destruction of many Achaemenid buildings and the displacement of many Achaemenid artifacts from their original contexts.¹⁹ The archaeology of Achaemenid Susa is full of many unanswered questions.²⁰ Given the nature of the recovery of administrative tablets, the destruction of Achaemenid levels and buildings in post-Achaemenid times, and the haste of early excavations, it is, in fact, surprising that the site has yielded any administrative tablets of Achaemenid date.²¹

In summary, there exists no hard evidence in the form of excavation records for the provenance of MDP 11 308. Because the tablet was published in MDP in 1911 (well

¹⁶ Whatever the date of Darius's building program at Susa, he surely would have used the city as an administrative center from the very beginning of his reign, and so administrative recording on the site would have begun as soon as Darius took control.

¹⁷ Note the comments of Stolper, "Cuneiform Texts from Susa," in Harper, Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 256–60. The seven legal texts found under the Palace of Darius (Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, MDP 11, nos. 301–7) and the 299 administrative texts found near the temple built by Shutruk-Nahunte II on the "tell de l'Acropole" (idem, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, MDP 9) establish the existence of record-keeping in Elamite in the period preceding Achaemenid rule at Susa. The administrative texts also use a number of phrases and features found in the Fortification archive and were apparently written at Susa (the majority of them at least) and also at other places, including points as far east as Hidali (see the summary in Stolper, "Cuneiform Texts from Susa," pp. 259–60, and the catalogue entries nos. 187 and 188 in Harper, Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*). The exact dating of these two sets of tablets in the Neo-Elamite II period cannot be fixed; see Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin de l'Elam," pp. 3–32; P. de Miroshedji, "Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Elam," *RA* 76 (1982): 51–63; idem, "La fin du royaume d'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'empire perse," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985): 265–306; Steve, "La fin de l'Elam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre," *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986): 7–21; E. Carter and M. W. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of*

Political History and Archaeology, University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 25 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 44–56; W. Hinz, "Elams Übergang ins Perserreich," in *Transition Periods in Iranian History*, *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5 (Paris and Louvain, 1987), pp. 125–34; J. Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (AMI)* 21 (1988): 53–63; see my article "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis," pp. 3–4.

¹⁸ See n. 15 for the reference to the anepigraphic tablet from Susa.

¹⁹ For example, the inscribed column bases of Artaxerxes II (found across the Shaur River), the stone reliefs from the "tell de l'Apadana," and the stone reliefs from Artaxerxes II's apadana were not found *in situ*.

²⁰ For example, not one Achaemenid structure or inscription at Susa can be related to Cyrus the Great (despite the fact that he must have controlled the city); evidence to date exists for building activity by only two kings, Darius I and Artaxerxes II (despite the fact that the city remained a capital city for the entire period of Achaemenid rule); no domestic buildings or workshops have been found (despite the fact that these kinds of structures must have existed).

²¹ The Persepolis Fortification archive itself was a chance discovery. It was uncovered when the American excavation, needing an entrance for motor vehicles onto the terrace platform, decided to clear a road through the fortification wall.

before a market for such tablets existed), records a transaction at Susa (a rarity in the Fortification archive), and because of the *a priori* historical likelihood of administrative archives at Susa in the Achaemenid period, in my opinion, MDP 11 308 was deposited at Susa in antiquity and then found there in modern times.

III. THE TEXT OF MDP 11 308 AND RELATED TEXTS FROM THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE

Scheil's transliteration of MDP 11 308 contained some errors, but in the absence of any comparable texts a better edition was not possible at the time. R. T. Hallock provided a corrected transliteration and a translation in his volume on the Elamite texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive, and Charles Jones has recently made a few more corrections.²² I give here Jones's transliteration and translation:

- (1) 64 [mar]-ri-
- (2) iš GIŠ.İ^{MEŠ}
- (3) ra-mi UDU.NITÁ^{MEŠ}-
- (4) na kur-mín^{HAL} maš-
- (5) te-tin(?) -na-na
- (6) ^{HAL}EŠŠANA ti-ib-
- (7) ba ma-ak-ka₄
- edge (8) ^{AŠ}su-šá-an a-ak
- (9) 5 ^{AŠ}ú-ma-
- rev. (10) nu-iš ha-tu₄-
- (11) ma ^{AŠ}be-ul 22-
- (12) um-me-na

64 marriš (of) fine? animal fat, supplied by Maštetinna, was dispensed on behalf of the king, at Susa and 5 villages, in the twenty-second year.

The unnamed king in the text is Darius I, whose twenty-second year is 500/499 B.C. The tablet is oval with a flattened left edge (figs. 1–5). String holes appear at the left corners, a feature commonly found on tablets of this size and shape in the Persepolis Fortification archive, the Persepolis Treasury archive, and on other Achaemenid Elamite administrative tablets. The same seal has been applied once upon the left edge, once upon the reverse and once upon the upper edge (figs. 3–5).

As mentioned, the text of MDP 11 308 is very similar to texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive.²³ The texts from the Fortification archive number into the thousands,

²² Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 25. Charles Jones has kindly reedited the text from photographs provided by the Louvre.

²³ Two large administrative archives of Achaemenid date have been found at Persepolis: the Persepolis Fortification tablets and the Persepolis Treasury tablets. The readable Treasury tablets, numbering 129, document the payment of silver in lieu of foodstuffs to work groups in the Persepolis area during the years 492 to 458 B.C. For the texts, see G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis*

Treasury Tablets, OIP 65 (Chicago, 1948); idem, "Persepolis Treasury Tablets Old and New," *JNES* 17 (1958): 161–76; idem, "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury," *JNES* 24 (1965): 167–92; W. Hinz, review of Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, in *ZA* 40 (1950): 347–53; idem, "Zu den Persepolis-Täfelchen," *ZDMG* 110 (1960): 236–51; Hallock, "New Light from Persepolis," *JNES* 9 (1950): 237–552; idem, "A New Look at the Persepolis Treasury Tablets," *JNES* 19 (1960): 90–100. For the seal impressions, see Schmidt,



FIG. 1.—Obverse of MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078). Photograph courtesy P. Amiet and B. André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre.



FIG. 2.—Lower edge of MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078). Photograph courtesy P. Amiet and B. André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre.



FIG. 3.—Reverse of MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078) showing seal impression of PFS 7*. Photograph courtesy P. Amiet and B. André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre.



FIG. 4.—Upper edge of MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078) showing seal impression of PFS 7*. Photograph courtesy P. Amiet and B. André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre.

and stand as the primary source for understanding some administrative practices in the vicinity of Persepolis in the early years of the empire.²⁴ They record disbursements of foodstuffs from royally controlled storehouses in parts of Fars and Khuzistan, the Achaemenid districts of Persis and Elam, to agricultural workers, administrators, artists, courtiers, priests, and members of the royal family during the years 509 to 494 B.C. The tablets often carry one or more seal impressions of offices and officials mentioned or implied in the texts. Hallock published 2,120 of the texts.²⁵

The text of MDP 11 308 fits nicely into Hallock's category J (texts dealing with royal provisions) in the Fortification archive.²⁶ These texts are distinguished by the phrase

Persepolis, vol. 2, pp. 4–41 and pls. 1–14; Edith Porada, review of Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, in *JNES* 20 (1961): 66–71; see my “Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis,” pp. 172–78. Both the Treasury and Fortification archive were recorded almost exclusively in Elamite. The Fortification archive contains in addition one tablet in Greek (J. M. Balcer, review of J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 36 [1979]: 276–80) and approximately 700 monolingual Aramaic texts. Found with the Fortification tablets were a tablet inscribed in Phrygian (J. Friedrich, “Ein phrygischen Siegel und ein phrygischen Tontäfelchen,” *Kadmos* 4 [1965]: 154–56; O. Haas, “Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler,” *Balkansko Ezikoznie* 10 [1965]: 176) and one in Babylonian (Stolper, “The Neo-Babylonian Text from the Persepolis Fortification,” *JNES* 43 [1984]: 299–310). The Babylonian and Phrygian texts do not seem to be part of the same administrative archive represented by the Elamite and Aramaic texts from the Fortification archive. See n. 15 above for the anepigraphic tablets in the Fortification archive. Some tablets written in Elamite similar to those from Persepolis have recently been identified in Freiburg (Switzerland) (F. Vallat, “Deux tablettes élamites de l’Université de Fribourg,” *JNES* 53 [1994]: 263–74) and in the Yale Babylonian Collection (Jones and Stolper, “Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale,” in L. de Meyer, H. Gasche, and F. Vallat, eds., *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae*, pp. 246–54). Jones and Stolper will soon publish another tablet (now housed in the British Museum) which is similar to those from Persepolis (personal communication).

²⁴ The tablets were discovered in 1933 in the fortification wall at the northeast corner of the terrace at Persepolis by E. Herzfeld. No exact count of the many thousands of complete and fragmentary tablets has been made.

²⁵ Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, published 2087 texts (texts preceded with the prefix PF); Hallock, “Selected Fortification Texts,” *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 8 (1978): 109–36, added another 33 texts (preceded with the prefix PFA). Hallock had read and transliterated another 2,586 texts (these texts and the PFA texts are now preceded with the prefix PFNN; most of the PFNN texts are referenced in Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, AMI Ergänzungsband 17 [Berlin, 1987]). The Fortification archive has been the focus of several specialized studies; for a brief overview, see D. M. Lewis, “The Fortification Texts,” in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Achaemenid History IV: Center and Periphery* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 1–6; Garrison, *Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis*, pp. 161–72; see my “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” *passim*. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, examines in detail the administrative organization and the duties of officials in the Fortification archive. See also *idem*, *Es kündet Dareios der König . . . Vom Leben im persischen Grossreich*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 55 (Mainz, 1992), esp. pp. 29–67, drawing heavily upon the evidence of the Fortification tablets.

²⁶ Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 24–25.



FIG. 5.—Left edge of MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078) showing seal impression of PFS 7*. Photograph courtesy P. Amiet and B. André-Salvini, Musée du Louvre.

"*sunki tibba makka*, “dispensed in behalf of the king.”²⁷ Besides MDP 11 308, only one other J text names the locale at Susa (PF 737, wine dispensed before Irdabama). PF 726 seems to involve the same commodity as MDP 11 308. The supplier Maštetinna is otherwise unattested in the published texts.

J texts are preserved in relatively small numbers in the Fortification archive (53 texts published to date).²⁸ The J texts stand apart from other texts in the Fortification archive in five ways: (1) the use of the phrasing “dispensed in behalf of the king” (in some cases the royal women Irdabama and Irtasduna take the place of the king); (2) the sometimes extraordinarily large quantity of foodstuffs involved and/or the unusual nature of the commodities; (3) the exalted status of many of the individuals mentioned in the texts; (4) a consistent pattern of seal use; (5) the high quality of the seals used on the tablets.

The exact meaning of the phrase "*sunki tibba makka*, “dispensed in behalf of the king,” is unclear. The great majority of texts preserved in the Fortification archive record daily and monthly rations to workers, payments to officials for their services to the state, and travel rations to individuals and groups. The J texts clearly do not deal with any of these three types of deliveries. Hallock suggested that the phrase may imply the actual presence of the king at the places where the transactions occurred.²⁹ In that case, the J texts may list commodities consumed during the king’s travels.³⁰ My analysis of the seal

²⁷ Ibid., p. 24, also translated “*munki tibba makka*” as “dispensed before the king.” In his glossary (s.v. *tibba*), he gave both “before” and “in behalf of.” In his text editions (both PF and PFA), and in his translation of MDP 11 308 on p. 25, he used only “in behalf of.” See F. Grillot and F. Vallat, “Le semi-auxiliaire *ma- en élamite*,” *Journal asiatique* 263 (1975): 211–17, esp. 213–14, for forms of the verb *ma-*. Hinz and Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, sub *ti-ib-ba* (vor [räumlich], vorwärts, voraus; zeitlich vielleicht vorher) and *ma-ak-qa* (es ist verzehrt, verbraucht worden).

²⁸ Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 24–25; PF 691–728, 730–40, 2033–35; PFA 6. There are, in addition, 43 J texts in the unpublished PFNN texts. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 25, noted that PF 729 was assigned to the J texts “for want of a better place.” In fact, it seems out of place here not only because of the unusual action and the lack of the phrase “*munki tibba makka*,” but also

because the quality of the two seals, PFS 862 and PFS 863, is very poor (see my “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” *passim*, for stylistic analysis of seals used in the J texts). PF 727 records “4 axes(?) dispensed in behalf of the king,” but the reading “axes” is uncertain (see Hallock, “The Persepolis Fortification Archive,” *Orientalia*, n.s., 42 [1973]: 320–23, esp. p. 321, n. 5).

²⁹ Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 24–25.

³⁰ In a few J texts dealing with wine or beer, the Elamite word for “dispensed,” *makka*, is replaced by the Elamite word, *kitka*, meaning “expended.” Hallock suggested that “the literal meaning of the verb *kit(i)-* is ‘to pour out’” (Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 25). In PF 707–9, we read “*munki tibba ANŠE.KUR.RA. lg makišda*, which Hallock translated “in behalf of the king, horses consumed.”

patterns used on the J texts (pp. 14–17) suggests some modifications of Hallock's view of the J texts, but, on the whole, I agree that in some cases the commodities may have been intended for the consumption of the royal traveling party.

The transactions often involve extraordinarily large amounts of commodities; in PF 702, the 1,783 BAR of flour represents a day's ration (1 1/2 QA) for 11,886 persons.³¹ PF 701 records 12,610 BAR of flour. The commodities include not only the normal grains, beer, and wine, but also the unusual. PF 2034 documents 1,333 fowl (some quite exotic). Rare commodities include *madukka* (salt?), *banura*, and *razi*. What exactly the terms *banura* and *razi* mean is unknown. They occur only in the J texts.

The king is mentioned in the Fortification archive in various types of texts, usually authorizing the acquisition of commodities by select officials (he/she/they *halmi* "sunkina *kutiša*, "(who) carry a sealed document of the king").³² In the J texts, the mention of the king is a regular feature of the text. Two individuals seem to take the place of the king in the published J texts based upon the occurrence of their names with the distinguishing phrase *tibba makka*. They are the royal women Irtašduna (PF 730–34 and 2035, *Irtašduna tibba mak*) and Irdabama (PF 735–40, *Irdabama tibba makka*). Irtašduna is known to Herodotus (7.69.2) as Artystone, the daughter of Cyrus and the favorite wife of Darius.³³ She plays a prominent role in the Fortification archive, controlling work groups and addressing letters where she issues rations of wine (PF 1835–39), in three instances from her estates at Mirandu (PF 1835; the place is perhaps the same as Uranduš) and Kuknaka (PF 1836–37). She also occurs with her son Iršama (in Greek, Arsames) (PF 733–34, wine dispensed on their behalf; PF 2035, beer expended on their behalf). The other woman, Irdabama, is known only from the Fortification archive. Her exact relationship at court is not known, but Hallock was convinced that she was a member of the royal family, and Koch has suggested that she was a wife of Darius.³⁴ Thus, the individuals who stand at the center of the transactions recorded in the J texts represent the highest level of Achaemenid society: the Great King and his wives.

³¹ Ibid., p. 24. 1 BAR = 10 QA, 1 QA being approximately one quart. For weights and measures, in general, in the Fortification archive, see Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, pp. 72–74.

³² *Halmi* can mean both a seal and a sealed document. Clearly, in the Fortification texts the term denotes a document (probably sealed with the royal seal) which individuals carry, and not the actual seal of the king. *Halmi* is an Elamite word; its Old Persian equivalent, *miyatukka*, sometimes occurs in its place (see Lewis, "The Persepolis Tablets: Speech, Seal and Script," in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* [Cambridge, 1994], pp. 17–32 [p. 27 for *halmi* and *miyatukka*]).

³³ Hallock, "Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," pp. 598 and 608, corrected the earlier identification of Irtašduna with a daughter of Darius; Hallock, "Use of Seals," p. 128; Hallock, "Selected Fortification Texts," pp. 110, 113, and 121; Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," ZA 61 (1971): 261–311 (esp. pp. 298–99); Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden, 1977), p. 22; idem, "Postscript," in A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London, 1984), pp. 587–612 (pp. 599–600, for Irtašduna); Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 16,

21, 29, 82, 94, 106, 144, 148, 150–51, 154, 178, 199, 204, 226, 291; M. Brosius, "Royal and Non-Royal Women in Achaemenid Persia (559–331 B.C.)" (D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1991), pp. 29–31, 42, 62–69, 103–4, 131–34, 197–98; Koch, *Es kündet Dareios der König*, pp. 236–38.

³⁴ Hallock, "Use of Seals," p. 128; idem, "Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," p. 608; idem, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 24; idem, "Select Fortification Texts," p. 113; Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," pp. 298–99; Koch, "Hofschatzwarde" und "Schatzhäuser" in der Persis," ZA 71 (1981): 232–47 (p. 234, Irdabama identified as a wife of Darius); idem, "Zu den Lohnverhältnissen der Dareioszeit in Persien," in H. Koch and D. N. Mackenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, AMI Ergänzungsband 10 (Berlin, 1983), pp. 19–35 (p. 30, queen); Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 269 (queen); idem, *Es kündet Dareios der König*, pp. 238–40 (queen). Brosius, "Royal and Non-Royal Women," pp. 134–52 and 198–99, concludes that Irdabama was certainly highly placed but that her exact position in the royal family is unknown.

The J texts show a very consistent pattern of seal application. Only seven different seals occur on the J texts: PFS 7*, PFS 66*, and PFS 93*, all of which represent offices, and PFS 51, PFS 38, PFS 2, and PFS 859*, all of which belong to individuals.³⁵

IV. THE SEAL IMPRESSION ON MDP 11 308 AND ITS COLLATION WITH PFS 7* FROM THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE

The seal used to make the impression on MDP 11 308 (figs. 3–5) also sealed tablets in the Fortification archive. The seal in the Fortification archive is designated as PFS 7* (figs. 6–7).³⁶ PFS 7* is an important seal.³⁷ It carries a trilingual inscription (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) of Darius the Great:³⁸

[a-]da-ma : da-a-ra-ya-va-[u-ša : xš]

[^{DIŠ}ú] ^{DIŠ}da-ri-ia-ma-ú-iš [EŠŠANA]

[ana-ku ^M]da-ri-iá-muš [MAN GAL]

I, Darius, King (in Babylonian: Great King)

The impression on MDP 11 308 preserves only one vertical border of the paneled inscription, visible at the far left of the impression on the left edge. The inscription is clear on impressions on the Fortification tablets.

³⁵ An office seal belongs not to a specific person but to an administrative office. Often successive individuals who hold a particular office and use that office seal can be traced (see, for example, Hallock, “Use of Seals,” pp. 130–31). Personal seals belong to a specific individuals. I discuss the style and imagery of seals preserved on the J texts in “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” *passim*. PF 701 (right edge) and 723 (left edge, mostly destroyed) carry illegible traces which probably were PFS 66* and PFS 7*, respectively.

³⁶ Hallock assigned seal numbers (1–314) only to those seals which occur on more than one tablet in the PF texts. The seal numbers were assigned based on the frequency of occurrence of the seal. Thus PFS 1* is the most frequently occurring seal, appearing on 74 PF tablets, while PFS 314 occurs on only two PF tablets. The number of multiple occurrence seals is, in fact, much higher than those Hallock identified in OIP 92: approximately 500 seals. Hallock had begun to recognize this fact in a later publication of texts from the Fortification archive (Hallock, “Select Fortification Texts,” p. 109). Many seals occur, however, on only one tablet. These Hallock left unnumbered. M. Root and I have now assigned numbers to all seals which occur on the PF tablets in preparation for the forthcoming publication of seal impressions preserved on those tablets. Tablets carrying impressions of PFS 7* (corrected from Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 78): PF 697–709, 711–27, and 2034; PFa 6; the seal also occurs on 26 unpublished PFNN texts.

³⁷ Hallock, “The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets,” in M. Gibson and R. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Bibliotheaca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu, 1977), pp. 127–33 (pp. 127–28, pl. E[3], for PFS 7*); Root, *Crowning Glories: Persian Kingship and the Power of Creative Continuity* (Ann Arbor, 1990), pp. 36–37; Hinz, “Achämenidische Hofverwaltung,” pp. 299–300; Root, “The Persian Archer at Persepolis: Aspects of Chronology, Style and Symbolism,” in R. Descat, ed., *L’Or perse et l’histoire grecque*, Revue des études anciennes 91 (Paris, 1989), pp. 33–50 (esp. pp. 40–42, figs. 2–3); Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 88; see my “Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis,” pp. 220, 255, 367, 372, 376, 377, 390, 391, 394–401, 414, 416, 474, 475–81, 489, 491, and 529–30; idem, “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” pp. 13–21; Harper Aruz, Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, p. 273, no. 191; Lewis, “The Persepolis Tablets,” pp. 30–31; my “The Identification of Artists and Workshops in Sealed Archival Contexts: The Evidence from Persepolis,” in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Proceedings of the Congress Archives, Sealings and Seals in the Hellenistic World* (Turin, in press); Root and Garrison, with an appendix by C. Jones, “Royal Name Seals in the Persian Empire” (in preparation). The drawing (fig. 7 here) is collated from 31 impressions of PFs 7* studied to date. Estimated original height of the cylinder seal: 3.00 cm.; estimated original diameter: 1.70 cm.

³⁸ The inscription on PFS 7* has been known for some time. It has most recently been published, with



FIG. 6.—Impression of PFS 7* on the reverse of PF 707

PFS 7* shows a crowned figure in an heroic encounter. He stands upright, facing the viewer's right, arms stretched out straight above shoulder level to grasp two rampant, winged bulls by their horns. A human figure with bird's wings and tail hovers directly over the head of the hero. This figure faces the viewer's right and raises both arms before his chest; he may hold something in his lower hand. The wings and tail of the figure are broad and rectilinear.³⁹ A tendril hangs from either side of the tail, terminating in a hook. Date palms with bulbous fruit clusters frame the scene. Diagonal marks occur on the trunk of each tree. Each line of the inscription is enclosed in a panel.

The hero wears the Persian court robe. The sleeves of the garment are pushed up to reveal the hero's bare arms. The gathered folds of the sleeves hang down on either side of the torso. The lower part of the garment has a central pleat and diagonal folds. The hero's beard terminates in a blunt point over his left shoulder. His hair hangs straight down at the back of the neck, bunching up at the end as if in a chignon. A strong jawline

previous bibliography, in R. Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 381 (Vienna, 1981), p. 22, sub SDe; see also M. Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 328 (Vienna, 1978), p. 16, sub 3.11.1, for only the Old Persian. Known as SDe, the inscription on PFS 7* is one of the standard trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian) inscriptions of Darius I. The visible portions of the inscription SDe are identical to the inscription on the famous London Darius cylinder (SDa). Each line of

SDe is, however, enclosed in a panel, and the signs seem to be slightly taller compared to the length of each line than in SDa. The inscription occurs with variations also on the PTS 1* (SDb), PTS 2* (SDc), PTS 3* (SDd), PFS 11* (SDf), PFS 113*/PTS 4* (SDg), and PFS 1683* (unpublished); for all the inscriptions see Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, pp. 19–24, s.v.

³⁹ Cf. the winged disks on the Behistun relief, the Persepolis tomb façades, PTS 2*, PTS 15, and PTS 26; see the discussion in M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis*, Iran 21 (London, 1983), pp. 133–38.

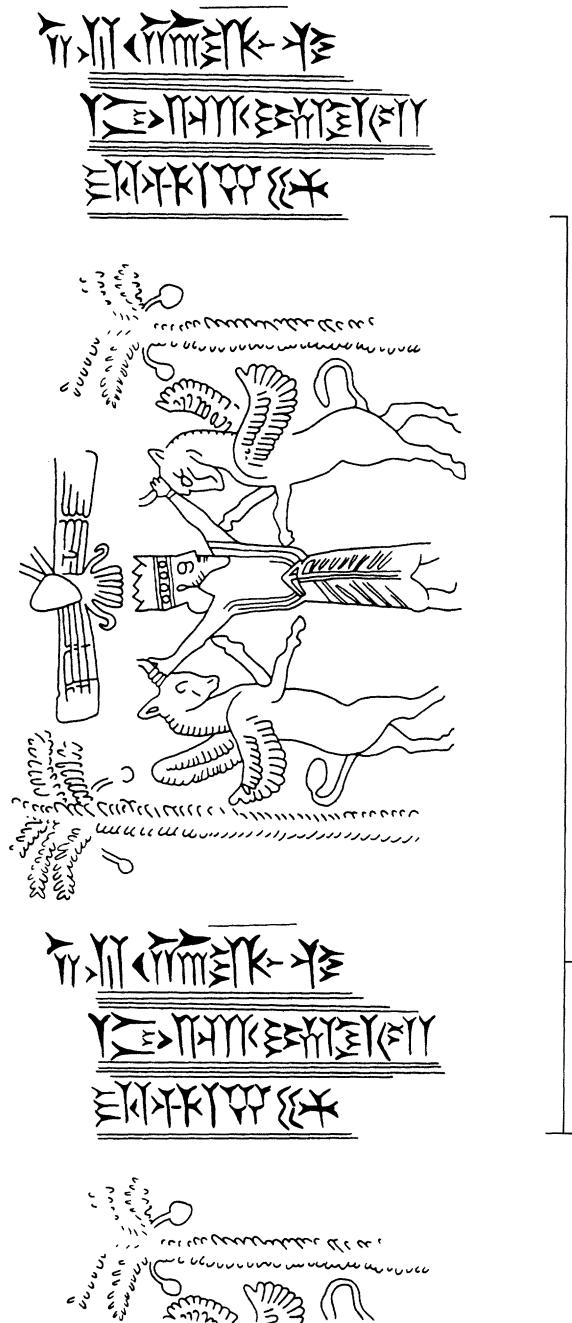


FIG. 7.—Collated line drawing of PFS 7*

starts directly under the base of the crown, running down vertically to the jaw where it then continues diagonally to the beard. A slight curl next to the jawline just below the crown indicates the ear. The mouth is straight, the large eye oval and set at a diagonal, the nose straight and prominent. The dentate crown has five points.⁴⁰ Four circles enclosed in a horizontal band decorate the lower part of the crown.

Each bull has two slender, curved wings, one placed horizontally from the back, the other diagonally. The wings consist of two rows of feathers. The lower wing comes across the shoulder of each creature, the top line of the wing rib arching down toward the lower foreleg.

The seal is an important example of a seal carving style traditionally labeled the Court style.⁴¹ The earliest documented appearance of the Court Style is in the late sixth century B.C. on the seal impressions on the Fortification tablets at Persepolis. Court Style seals in the Fortification archive generally are connected with officials and offices of the highest order, and in four cases, PFS 7*, PFS 11*, PFS 113*, and PFS 1683*, they carry inscriptions naming Darius (the only seals in the Fortification archive to do so). The imagery is fairly restricted and reflects themes of control and power similar to those seen in architectural relief from Persepolis. This may suggest a consciously planned visual expression of empire in many media, directed, perhaps, by Darius and his closest advisors.

As mentioned, only seven different seals occur on the J texts. Two of the seals, PFS 7* and PFS 66*, represent offices. In the case of these two seals, the individuals holding the offices are never mentioned by name; we know of them only through the impressions of their office seals. PFS 7* and PFS 66* never occur outside of the J texts (and hence almost always in association with the phrase "*sunki tibba makka*").⁴² The seals also do not seem to have any geographical restriction. That the seals occur only in the J texts and have no geographical restriction suggest that the seals represent special offices closely associated with the king; perhaps, as Hallock suggested, these offices even moved with the king as he traveled or moved just ahead of him in order to prepare for his arrival.⁴³ In this scenario, they would not only receive deliveries, but also oversee the provisioning of the king's table and ensure that the commodities were at the correct place in time for the king's arrival. PFS 7*, the seal on MDP 11 308, occurs more frequently and seems to represent the office with highest authority.⁴⁴ This office oversees transactions involving all types of commodities "dispensed in behalf of the king" except cattle. The second office

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 131–33 and Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 92–93, 99, 117, 121–22, 171, 304, 306–7, for Achaemenid crowns.

⁴¹ J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York, 1970), p. 305, first coined the term "Court Style" to describe a special class of Achaemenid Persian seals which, in his opinion, show close connections, especially iconographically, to architectural sculpture at Persepolis. Broadman did not go into a detailed stylistic analysis of the Court Style. I have articulated some of the specific stylistic attributes of the Court Style, as well as its stylistic connections to other glyptic traditions of the first millennium B.C. (see my "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis," pp. 11, 383–419, 471–92, and 528–30; *idem*, "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis," pp. 13–21). The Court Style, in its earliest phases as found in the seal impressions pre-

served on the Fortification tablets, does seem closely connected to the court of the Persian king, but by the mid-fifth century B.C., seals cut in the Court Style seem to have a very wide distribution.

⁴² The exceptions are PF 707–9, for which see n. 30 above.

⁴³ On the preparations surrounding the arrival of the Persian King, see Briant, "Le nomadisme du Grand Roi," *Iranica Antiqua* 23 (1988): 253–73. Note also the remark of Herodotus (7.32) on preparations for the king's arrival.

⁴⁴ Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 88, identifies the office as the "Hofspeisenmeister." Lewis, "The Persepolis Tablets," pp. 30–31, seems to identify PFS 7* as one of the king's personal seals, given out to someone else (or office?) to use.

seal, PFS 66* (applied on the left, right and/or upper edges of the tablets), occurs only on flour deliveries and requires always the application of PFS 7* on the reverse of the tablets.⁴⁵

Transactions involving cattle “dispensed in behalf of the king” were overseen by the office represented by PFS 93*.⁴⁶ Like the other office seals PFS 7* and PFS 66*, PFS 93* occurs only on J texts. One of these texts, PF 692, contains, however, not the normal phrase, “*sunki tibba makka*,” but “*sunki zakke*” (an ox “paid to the king”). The text may not be a J text *in stricto sensu*. Besides PF 692, we have only four published cattle transactions in the J texts sealed with PFS 93*. It is notable that three of these (PF 694, 695, and 2033) mention no specific place name, but only that the cattle were dispensed on behalf of the king at villages. In the one text that does include place names (PF 693), eight cattle are dispensed in behalf of the king and slaughtered in several places, all of which may lie in or near one administrative region, Koch’s Southeastern Region (III).⁴⁷

Three observations suggest that the conditions governing our interpretation of PFS 7* and PFS 66* do not apply to PFS 93*. First is the occurrence of PFS 93* in PF 692, a text which does not conform to the normal phrasing of J texts. Second is the lack of evidence for widespread travel by this office (although future publications may alter this). Third is the commodity associated with the office represented by PFS 93*, cattle. Cattle (and animals in general) and rations of meat after slaughter are rarely recorded in the Fortification texts, and when they are, they are usually restricted to specific places.⁴⁸ It is difficult to discern patterns with such limited evidence, but based upon these considerations there is the possibility that the office represented by PFS 93* stayed mainly in a cattle-raising area overseeing the cattle belonging to the crown and did not travel with the king.

The three seals PFS 7*, PFS 93*, and PFS 66* representing the offices in the J texts are notable for their inscriptions and their well-executed designs.⁴⁹ This stands in direct contrast to the great majority of seals preserved on tablets in the Fortification archive;

⁴⁵ Occurrences of PFS 66*: PF 699–704; the seal also occurs on seven unpublished PFNN tablets. Hallock, “Use of Seals on the Persepolis Tablets,” p. 127, suggested that PFS 66* represented the office of the royal miller. The seal, in fact, occurs in two versions on the Persepolis tablets; the original seal (PFS 66a*) was replaced by a new seal (PFS 66b*) copying the same style and imagery (see my “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” pp. 10–12). Both seals carry the same Aramaic inscription, which seems to read: “[m]n vtpi.” The second word seems to be a personal name, but no known parallels exist in either Aramaic or Elamite (comments courtesy C. Jones; see again my “Seals and the Elite,” p. 26, n. 68).

⁴⁶ The seal, an heirloom from the Neo-Elamite period, carries an inscription naming Cyrus the Anshanite, son of Teispes. References to PFS 93*: Hallock, “Use of Seals on the Persepolis Tablets,” p. 128, pl. E(4); Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 27 and 120; Amiet, “La glyptique de la fin de l’Elam,” no. 28; Bollweg, “Protoachämenidische Siegelsbilder,” pp. 53–58 (no. 1), pl. 30 (1–3); Root, “From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire,” in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, eds., *Achaemenid*

History VI, Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire (Leiden, 1991), pp. 1–29 (esp. pp. 21–22); Porada, “Cylinder Seals” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5.5, pp. 479–505 (p. 500, pl. 47.9 for the Cyrus cylinder); see my “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” pp. 3–7; Root, Garrison, and Jones, “Royal Name Seals” (in preparation). Occurrences of PFS 93*: PF 692–95, 2033; the seal also occurs on ten unpublished PFNN texts. One cattle text, PF 691, is sealed by PFS 859* rather than PFS 93* (see p. 31 below).

⁴⁷ PF 693 is dated to the nineteenth year of Darius (503–502 B.C.) and lists the following places: Umbaka, Kurra, Ku..išla, Bat..mana, Tirušbakka(?), Anzamanakka, Kutima, and Haršana. Umbaka and Tirušbakka(?) occur only in this text, and thus their exact geographical relationship with the other sites cannot be determined with accuracy (Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 88).

⁴⁸ See Koch’s comments in “Die achämenidische Poststrasse von Persepolis nach Susa,” *AMI* 19 (1986): 133–47 (esp. pp. 145–46, for rations of meat to travelers).

⁴⁹ See Garrison, “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis,” *passim*, for more detail.

these seals only very rarely carry inscriptions and sometimes are poorly carved. Clearly, PFS 7* and PFS 93*, owing to their royal name inscriptions, must have been valued objects with close personal associations to the Achaemenid royal family. The officials who used them must have had close ties to the court; perhaps they were even members of the Achaemenid family.

Three of the four personal seals which occur on the J texts belong to high ranking members of the Achaemenid elite. The royal woman Irtāšduna uses PFS 38 on six published J texts;⁵⁰ she also ratifies five published letters with this seal.⁵¹ The other royal woman, Irdabrama, employs her personal seal, PFS 51, on six J texts, as well as on one letter (PFa 27) and one special ration (PF 1185).⁵² The occurrence of the personal seals of these two women on the J texts seemingly in lieu of the office seals PFS 7* and PFS 66* may indicate that those offices have been bypassed. Perhaps the commodities have been drawn on the personal authority of the royal women, and they have applied their seals to the tablets in order to indicate that they (not the offices represented by PFS 7* and PFS 66*) authorize the transaction and that they and their retinue (not the king and his retinue) consume the commodities.⁵³

On one J text (PF 710) Irtuppiya uses his personal seal, PFS 2, a seal which he uses very often outside of the J texts.⁵⁴ Irtuppiya is an important official, who seems to have wide administrative responsibilities in Koch's Elam Region (VI).⁵⁵ His importance is reflected in the diverse and many transactions which he oversees and in the frequent occurrence of his seal in the archive (the second most commonly occurring seal). His seal never occurs with another seal, indicating his high administrative authority. He is mentioned by name often as a supplier in the J texts, the tablets always sealed by PFS 7*.⁵⁶ The one occurrence of his seal on a J text is unusual. We should note, however, that the text concerns cattle. Since the cattle texts with PFS 93* may not imply the same situation as J texts sealed with PFS 7* and PFS 66*, the mention of cattle in association with a completely unexpected seal, PFS 2, in PF 710 might alert us to a possible anomaly. Could

⁵⁰ PF 730–34 and 2035; the seal also occurs on three unpublished PFNN J texts.

⁵¹ PF 1835–39; also three unpublished PFNN T texts.

⁵² J texts: PF 735–40; the seal also occurs on six unpublished PFNN texts, four of which are J texts.

⁵³ The whole of this question hangs on the grouping of those tablets sealed with PFS 38 and PFS 51 with other J texts based upon the occurrence of the phrase *tibba makka* (*Irtāšduna tibba mak*; *Irdabrama tibba makka*). Perhaps we are making too much of the similarity, but the fact that it is always a member of the royal family (king, Irtāšduna, or Irdabrama) in the phrase suggests that the texts are related. It is notable also that of the twelve published texts sealed with PFS 38 or PFS 51, five concern wine (PF 732, 735, 736, 737) or beer (PF 2035). Only one other published J text records wine or beer (wine in PF 728), and no seal has been applied to the tablet. I do not know exactly what to make of this, but it may suggest that the offices represented by PFS 7* and PFS 66* do not have jurisdiction over or access to liquid commodities, and so the women must draw

them from other resources (their own?). Their grain texts are, however, in no way different from those sealed with PFS 7* or PFS 66*, except for the occurrence of their names and their seals. Most likely the application of their seals implies that they have the same authority as the king in these types of transactions. Their seals are for the accountants, indicating that they, not the king, have drawn the commodities.

⁵⁴ Occurrences of PFS 2: PF 15, 113, 442, 465–66, 540, 542, 544, 585, 598, 613, 832, 1000–1001, 1049–53, 1055–57, 1065, 1067–73, 1187–89, 1605–6, 1651, 1681, 1699–1700, 1709, 1715–16, 1748, and 1845–48; also 33 unpublished PFNN texts.

⁵⁵ Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 241–43 (identified as the Director of the “Intendantur” of her Elam Region [VI]). See also Hallock, “Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets,” pp. 597 and 600; Hallock, “Use of Seals,” p. 131; Hinz, “Achämenidische Hofverwaltung,” pp. 286–87 (identified as the “Hofspeicherwart” and director of Hinz’s Abteilung I, “Cerealien,” of the “Hofintendantur”).

⁵⁶ PF 709, 711–13, 717, 724–25, and PFa 6.

the phrase *"sunki tibba makka* characterize (and so identify) the cattle, rather than the transaction itself?⁵⁷ If this is so, PF 710 would not be a J text but an ordinary receipt for barley that implies a prior J text (sealed with PFS 93*) having to do with the delivery of the cattle.⁵⁸ Thus Irtuppiya is provisioning cattle which had already been delivered (and, presumably, were awaiting slaughter).

The last seal used on the J texts, PFS 859*, occurs on only one tablet (PF 691). The text concerns cattle (clearly a commodity for which patterns of administrative practice are difficult to discern), and we expect the seal of the cattle office, PFS 93*. I have suggested that the seal is a personal seal of the official who holds the office represented by PFS 93*; for this particular transaction he did not have his office seal and so used his personal seal.⁵⁹

V. IMPLICATIONS AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MDP 11 308 AND THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE

As discussed at the beginning of this article, the documentary evidence from the Susa excavations for the provenance of MDP 11 308 does not allow us to say beyond doubt that the tablet comes from Susa. I have stated my reasons for believing that the tablet comes from Susa. The linking of MDP 11 308 to Susa remains, however, a postulate. The following comments are based upon the assumption that MDP 11 308 comes from Susa. The commentary attempts to understand MDP 11 308 within the historical and administrative framework provided by the Persepolis Fortification tablets and to speculate on the extension of that framework to other parts of the empire.

The occurrence of contemporary administrative documents of similar formal type (i.e., serving similar purposes) at different sites is to be expected. It is unusual, however, to find evidence for this. It is also extremely striking to find evidence of the same seal (PFS 7*) appearing on tablets from different sites. The collation of text and seal between two sites is quite rare in the artifactual record preserved from the ancient Near East in any period.

The occurrence of MDP 11 308 at Susa suggests that there existed at Susa a large administrative archive (as yet undiscovered), since an administrative text is likely to be a piece of a larger archive, rather than an isolated phenomenon. The similarity of MDP 11 308 to texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive also suggests that this administrative archive at Susa was similar to the Fortification archive at Persepolis. The occurrence of the same seal at the two sites (PFS 7*) suggest that the same offices were involved at both places, perhaps even the same people. This gives evidence for a wide-ranging administrative

⁵⁷ The place is Šursunkiri in Elam. This is the only cattle transaction located outside of Koch's southeastern Region (III); this may account for Irtuppiya's actions here. Note also that the text says *halmi Irtuppiya(na)*, "seal (or sealed document) (of?) Irtuppiya" (paralleled only by PFS 728 *halmi Ukurduš(na)*, where no seal has been applied). In my "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis," pp. 12–13, I suggest that the cattle need special provisioning. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, p. 243, suggests that the cattle are being fattened in preparation for the arrival of the king.

⁵⁸ The text might be better classified with S1 texts (regular rations for animals), where, in fact, Irtuppiya and his seal PFS 2 figure prominently (issuing his *halmi* [PF 1651, 1715] and receiving commodities [PF 1699, 1709]; other occurrences of PFS 2 in S1 texts are PF 1681, 1700, 1748). D. Lewis (personal communication, 17 August 1993) said that he would classify PF 710 as an S1 text as well.

⁵⁹ See my "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis," pp. 13–21. The inscription preserved in impressions of the seal is fragmentary and is illegible.

jurisdiction for at least one office (represented by PFS 7*) and may imply an interconnected network of administrators between the sites.

If MDP 11 308 comes from Susa, we may then be able to assume that there existed at Susa a state food distribution apparatus similar to the one documented in the texts of the Persepolis Fortification archive. As discussed above, however, J texts, such as MDP 11 308, stand apart from the majority of texts in the Fortification archive (mainly receipts and accounts) owing to the prominent role of the king, the high status of other individuals and offices mentioned in the text and the high degree of mobility of those personnel. J text transactions, for these reasons, might have taken place at various places whenever the king happened to pass through a site or an area. Some of the texts recording the transactions might have been deposited where the transactions occurred. These texts then would document not the existence of archives similar to the Fortification archive but simply irregular transactions accompanying the king's movements.

As a J text, MDP 11 308 does not guarantee the existence of an archive exactly similar to that at Persepolis. It does show, however, that at least one important type of transaction which occurs in the Persepolis Fortification archive also occurred at Susa. There exists also the Susa anepigraphic tablet (whose provenance is not in doubt), which is probably administrative in nature.⁶⁰ In addition, the Fortification tablets themselves give evidence, although rare, of deliveries of commodities at Susa.⁶¹ We thus know that some administrative activity in addition to royal provisioning took place at Susa. I have argued that *a priori* historical assumptions make it likely that there existed an administrative apparatus at Susa. The proximity of Susa and Persepolis, the fact that both were imperial capitals, and the traditional ties which existed between Susiana and Fars suggest that the local food production and distribution, and the recording of it, may have been similar. Thus, an archive at Susa (now represented only by MDP 11 308) similar to the Fortification archive at Persepolis very likely existed.

Since Susa was an imperial capital as well as the seat of the satrapy of Elam, it would also be well suited to serve as a central place and administrative headquarters, much as Persepolis seems to act in the Fortification archive. One might infer that a possible archive at Susa similar to the Fortification archive would record provisioning around and to the west (toward Babylonia), northwest (toward Assyria along the royal road to Sardis), and/or north (toward Ecbatana) of Susa, since the Fortification archive covers provisioning to the southwest of Susa. Owing to the need for ease of transport of information, materials and personnel, the road system must have played a critical role in the hypothetical Susian (and the actual Persepolis) food distribution apparatus.

Although present evidence cannot prove the existence of a food distribution apparatus at Susa similar to that recorded in the Fortification archive, it seems highly unlikely that the administrative concerns reflected in the Fortification archive were unique to the area of Fars and Khuzistan. The archive represents a rather narrow set of concerns: the collection of food commodities and the distribution of food commodities to, for example, agricultural workers, administrators, and travelers (some of high rank and traveling in

⁶⁰ See n. 15 above.

⁶¹ Specifically, flour (PF 88, 90–92), *hamarram*, *kudakena*, *aššana*, *šiprim* (PF 136, all apparently a kind of bread), and barley loaves(?) (PF 318). PF 737

records wine “expended in behalf” of Irdabama at Susa. Transactions at Susa are rarely recorded in the Fortification archive, since Susa lay outside its administrative boundaries.

large parties) passing through the area.⁶² These concerns are frankly banal in comparison to what some other Near Eastern archives from earlier periods record (for example, royal correspondence; the collection of raw materials for manufacture [including precious metals]; the transport of textiles, weapons, tools, and religious paraphernalia; the collection of taxes, etc.).⁶³

It is its concern with basic subsistence (food) which argues most strongly that similar types of administrative structures may have existed not only at Susa, but also throughout the empire; such basic needs were universal.⁶⁴ Here the travel ration texts (Q texts) may provide some backdrop in which to view the issue. In the PF texts published by Hallock travel ration texts are more numerous than any other type of text.⁶⁵ They record rations to travelers, some of them seemingly on the road between Susa and Persepolis.⁶⁶ The travelers are often mentioned as coming from or going on to such far-flung places as Egypt (PF 1544), Sardis (PF 1321, 1404), Assyria (1574), Sagartia (1501), Arachosia (PF 1351, 1385, 1439, 1443, 1474, 1484, 1510, 2049; Kandahar mentioned in 1358, 1440, 1550), Bactria (PF 1287, 1555), and India (PF 1318, 1383, 1524, 1556, 2057). How were these travelers provisioned before their entry into or after their departure from Fars and Khuzistan? I seriously doubt that they were left to forage on their own.⁶⁷

Thus, we should expect administrative activity at Susa similar to that which we have documented at Persepolis. What is, perhaps, rather surprising is the similarity in the ways that the Susa and Persepolis administrative systems recorded their operations. Both centers

⁶² There are clearly many gaps in our documentation. We do not know exactly how or where the documents were produced or how they came to be deposited in the fortification wall at Persepolis. The fact that dated texts are unevenly distributed in both the J texts and the archive as a whole cannot be explained satisfactorily (for example, we do not have any J texts for the Years 13–18, 20, 23, 26, and 28, and it seems highly unlikely that no transactions of this type took place). The uneven distribution might reflect record-purging procedures, the actual fluctuations in economic and accounting activity or the fluctuations in recording and filing of that activity. Alternatively, the uneven distribution of dated texts might reflect gaps owing to modern recovery, preservation, and selective publication of the texts. (We should remember that the published texts represent perhaps less than a third of the total number of preserved texts. Future editions of the texts may help to fill the lacunae which currently exist.) In addition, the exact nature of the find-spot of the Fortification tablets is unclear. Surprisingly, little information was provided by Herzfeld on the archaeological context of the tablets. Herzfeld referred to the find-spot of the tablets as “two little archive chambers in the fortification wall,” implying a primary context (E. Herzfeld, “Recent Discoveries at Persepolis,” *JRAS* [1934]: 231; Hallock said, however, that the tablets had been redeposited in the fortification wall as fill (“Persepolis Fortification Archive,” p. 320). See a fuller discussion of the issues surrounding the find-spot of the Fortification tablets in my “Seal Workshops and

Artists in Persepolis,” pp. 161–62 and 169–70. Despite all these uncertainties, Hallock was inclined to see the uneven distribution of the dated tablets as reflective of “changes in the economic operations and in the accounting methods” (*Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 74).

⁶³ Certainly, these and many other types of transactions took place at Persepolis, but a record of them has not survived.

⁶⁴ The Fortification archive, of course, records food distribution by the state only to some elements of the population. These consist mainly (but not exclusively) of officials traveling through the area on state business (Q texts) and agricultural workers.

⁶⁵ Our sample is biased, of course, by the texts Hallock selected for publication and the idiosyncrasies of ancient archival practice and archaeological preservation and retrieval. Nevertheless, a large number of travel ration texts exist, and this seems to indicate that the provisioning of travelers was an important function of the food administration.

⁶⁶ Koch, “Die achämenidische Poststrasse von Persepolis nach Susa,” *passim*.

⁶⁷ Cf. the famous Aramaic text of Aršam, a Persian governor and a prince of the royal house (G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* [Oxford, 1957], no. 8; for a new copy and edition including translation and commentary, see B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1986–), vol. 1, A.6.10.

opted to record in Elamite cuneiform on clay tablets of a distinctive size and shape.⁶⁸ The archival practices at Susa and Persepolis may, however, have been similar to each other in organization and recording owing to long-standing cultural and political associations.⁶⁹ Susa and Persepolis also are likely to have shared similar recording practices because they lay in adjacent districts. In addition, there is evidence that Elamite was used in various other places of the Achaemenid empire to record administrative activity.⁷⁰

The logical inference of the need to provision officials traveling at imperial expense on the main roads throughout the empire suggests that there existed in other parts of the empire local administrative systems through which these travelers moved, and received rations.⁷¹ Using the Fortification archive as a model, this provisioning would seem to have been accomplished through local administrative structures managed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the central authority of the crown.⁷²

If there were a series of local food distribution networks which the state supported, each with a major administrative center, they most likely would not be closed cells, sealed off from one another; rather, their boundaries were probably flexible, and one area would be able to draw resources from another (note that a few deliveries at Susa were recorded in the Fortification archive). We might also suppose that the satrapal system may have provided some general boundaries, but it is interesting that the Fortification archive, although centered in Persis, extends into the satrapy of Elam.⁷³ Each administrative area was most likely served by its own group of administrators (having their own

⁶⁸ Rather than, for example, in Babylonian cuneiform on rectangular clay tablets or in Aramaic on leather.

⁶⁹ See also the comments on p. 32 above. For a recent summary of the long-standing and complex relationships between Susiana and Fars, see Amiet "An Introduction to the History of Art in Iran," in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon, *The Royal City of Susa*, pp. 2–15; Amiet, "Sur l'histoire élamite," *Iranica Antiqua* 27 (1992): 75–94.

⁷⁰ See the comments and references in Jones and Stolper, "Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale," p. 248, noting the discovery of the Achaemenid Elamite administrative tablets at Kandahar, Chogha Mish, and Qasr-i Abu Nasr. The two Achaemenid Elamite texts from Kandahar in Afghanistan are very similar to those from the Fortification archive (see S. W. Helms, "Excavations at 'The City and the Famous Fortress of Kandahar, the Foremost Place in all of Asia,'" *Afghan Studies* 3–4 [1982]: 1–24 [p. 13 for the texts]; note the remarks of Briant, *L'Asie centrale et les royaumes proche-orientaux au premier millénaire* (c. VIII^e s. av. n. è.) [Paris, 1984], pp. 59–61). I. M. Diakonoff and N. B. Jankowska, "An Elamite Gilgameš Text from Argištihene, Urartu (Armavirblur, 8th Century B.C.)" ZA 80 (1990): 102–23, published an Elamite tablet found in excavations in Armenia, interpreting it as a new version of the Gilgamesh story. Koch has recently published an article in which she argues that this text is actually a Persepolis-like administrative document (see "Elamisches Gilgameš-Epos oder doch Verwaltungstäfelchen," ZA 83 [1993]: 219–36).

⁷¹ Glimpses of other possible archives are provided by the texts cited in n. 70 above. In this context, the "inscribed bullae" from Daskyleion could conceivably also represent another archive concerned with food distribution (see recently D. Kaptan-Bayburtluoglu, "A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 [1990]: 15–27). The documents mentioned or illustrated to date are generally described as part of the satrapal or palace records, although the evidence for this statement seems to rest chiefly on the fact that they were discovered at Daskyleion, a satrapal city. From descriptions and illustrations of the "inscribed bullae" they seem to be anepigraphic bullae, some of which have been sealed with inscribed seals. Although they do seem to have been attached to papyrus or parchment rolls, their exact administrative function is unknown.

⁷² Cf. Briant's remarks in *Rois, tributs et paysans* (Paris, 1982), pp. 207–11, and chap. 11 in his *De Cyrus à Alexandre: Une histoire de l'empire achéménide* (Leiden, in press).

⁷³ Compare the discrepancy between Herodotus's list of tax-paying districts (3.89–96) versus what is known of the boundaries of political provinces of the time; see A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 291–97; J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York, 1983), pp. 77–90. Most scholars have preferred not to identify Persis as a satrapy, although the issue is by no means settled; see, for example, Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, pp. 8–9 (my thanks to P. Briant for this reference).

seals).⁷⁴ We would expect the seals of the court élite, or highly placed bureaucrats, to occur in different areas, since they are likely to have had property and administrative interests in many areas. Offices and individuals mentioned in J texts would be likely to appear at different places, since they involve individuals of high rank and offices, some of whom may have actually traveled with or just ahead of the king. Thus they move freely, crossing administrative boundaries. The fact that the royal lady Irdabama gets rations at Susa (PF 737, sealed with her seal PFS 51) might indicate that certain members of the royal family also could draw commodities in different areas on their personal authority.⁷⁵

The exact nature of structures for the provisioning of officials, workers, and administrators anywhere in the empire outside of the area covered by the Fortification archive, remains, of course, unknown. Given the complexity of the Persian empire and the characteristics of regional variation, we should be prepared for considerable variation in the forms of recording and archival practice from region to region. As mentioned above, the archival practices at Susa and Persepolis may have been more similar to each other in organization and recording practice than to administrative offices found elsewhere in the empire owing to long-standing cultural and political associations and because they lay in adjacent districts. Practice must have varied from locale to locale, but the imperial superstructure could have provided the organizational nexus to insure the smooth provisioning of local officials and workers, and the steady stream of travelers on crown business, through local administrative systems in various realms of the empire.

⁷⁴ The fact that the supplier recorded on the Susa tablet, Maštetinna(?), is unknown in the texts from the Fortification archive might add support to this argument, but many suppliers occur only once in the Fortification archive. He is, however, most likely a local supplier.

⁷⁵ It is not striking that Irdabama can draw rations at Susa but rather that the tablet recording this transcription is found in the Persepolis archive (see n. 61 above for other deliveries at Susa). Is this because the commodity is wine, a substance more difficult to

acquire since it was not normally issued as rations to work groups? The amount is not insubstantial (236 *mariš*), and perhaps Susa could not easily accommodate large rations of nongrain commodities; see Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, pp. 297 and 301, for the scarcity of fruit cultivation in Elam and the frequent substitution of beer for wine rations in this region (of course, wine and fruit could have been produced in the region, but no record of it survives in the Fortification archive).